CAUSES THAT LED TO THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

For "Good Speed" in 16th line from top of page 11 read Godspeed.

For "South" in 11th line from bottom of page 45 read North.

After the word "slavery" in 8th line from bottom of page 45 read: But that provision of the "Missouri Compromise" was automatically repealed by the passage, in 1854, of the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill" which gave to the people of those territories the right to decide for themselves the question of "slavery" or "no slavery" whenever they should organize state governments and make application for admission as states into the Union. When, under those circumstances, Kansas was thrown open to settlement it became at once apparent that the territory would be occupied largely by Southern people moving into the new El Dorado and taking their slaves with them. The abolitionists, etc.

Causes that led to the War
between the States
By J. O. McGehee,
Staunton, Va.

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CAUSES THAT LED

TO THE

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

BY

J. O. MCGEHEE

Fifty-third Virginia Regiment

Armistead's Brigade

Picket's Division

Longstreet's Corps

Army Northern Virginia

Device

1915

A. B. CALDWELL PUBLISHING CO.,

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From [illegible] to [illegible].

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1918

DEDICATION

To the United Daughters of the Confederacy, whose older members can testify out of their own faithful and loving memories and heroic experiences, to the real facts of history herein contained, this little book is affectionately dedicated in the hope and belief that the Truth, pure and undefiled, will be, by them, forever preserved and handed down, unshorn and unperverted, to all the generations of our sons and daughters yet unborn.

THE AUTHOR

CHAPTER I.

This paper, or series of papers, originated in a request, seconded by an ardent desire on the part of the writer, to place in the hands of the Daughters of the Confederacy in succinct and convenient form the imperishable truths and incontrovertible facts pertaining to the spirit and origin of the causes that led to the war between the States; thus enabling them more fully to grasp and disseminate those truths among their own membership and hand them down unalloyed and unperverted to future generations of our sons and daughters.

The task, once undertaken, was found to be so wide in scope and so comprehensive in character, both as to time and events, that it was impracticable to handle it properly and satisfactorily within the prescribed limits of a single paper and, hence, the treatise has, perforce, grown and amplified into its present form and dimensions. No sadder and more humiliating spectacle presents itself to the men and women of "The Sixties" than to see and hear their children or children's children deprecating or apologizing for the heroic course of action followed by their parents and grandparents during the trying and eventful years of those glorious but terrible times.

Our whole country, indeed the English speaking world, during the half century that has elapsed since the close of that great struggle, has been flooded with so-called Histories of what they

choose to term "The Civil War." Most of those books, especially of those which emanated from the North in the years immediately subsequent to the war, and before Southern writers began to revive and breathe freely after the bloody and crushing defeat and overthrow of the great cause for which they fought, were written from a bitterly partizan standpoint. During the horrible nightmare of "Reconstruction" many of those books invaded or crept into our public and private schools, breathing into the ears of our sons and daughters the insidious poison of the fanatical hate and murderous passions that prepared the way and finally precipitated the awful strife that deluged the country with blood, teaching, or seeking to teach, them to regard their fathers and mothers as rebels and traitors. Now that such perfidious agents and such pernicious teaching have been happily expelled from our schools and eliminated from our educational system, it is vitally necessary that our boys and girls should be calmly and dispassionately instructed as to the real and true causes that led up to and forced an unjust and cruel war upon the South, and with that end in view this short and very incomplete paper has been prepared with the hope that it may inspire and lead others to give a more full and exhaustive treatment to a subject that is herein but barely broached. What, then, were the true causes that led up to and finally precipitated that momentous and ruinous struggle; who were the real authors of it, and what were its objects and purposes?

To seek the source and understand the animus of those causes will carry us back to the very beginning of our country's history. Indeed, to reach the root of the incipient enmity and jealousy and final estrangement that culminated in the rending asunder of the sections we must cross the Atlantic and study the widely dissimilar character and sentiment, religious, political and social, of the separate and distinct classes of people, who, in emigrating to America, divided themselves between the New England and the Southern States. The germs of discord and dissolution sported in the antagonistic blood that warmed the hostile veins of Roundhead and Cavalier and lurked among the timbers of the "May Flower" and the "Good Speed."

New England was a community founded to be the home of a creed with its discipline, and for a century after the landing of the Pilgrims, remained a frontier settlement closed in and hedged about by primeval forests infested by roving bands of prowling savages. Having no contact, therefore, no intercourse with the other colonies and actuated by a single standard of conduct, she became "one community from end to end and her people one people,"[1] standing apart and compact, soberly cultivating a life and character all her own. Col. William Byrd, of Westover, in his quaint descriptive writing says of her: "Though these people may be ridiculed for some of the Pharisaical particularities of their worship and

[1]George Washington, Woodrow Wilson, page 12.

behavior, yet they are very useful subjects as being frugal and industrious, giving no scandal or bad example."[2]

The great body of the people who emigrated to Virginia in the first seventy years of the colony's existence "had left England as much because they hated the Puritans as because they desired Virginia. They were drawn out of that great majority at home to whom Cromwell had not dared resort to get a new Parliament in place of the one he had 'purged', and many of them were of the hottest blood of the Cavaliers."[1] From such a source Virginia got her character and received the blood from which was to spring her future race of gentlemen and statesmen, eminent churchmen, profound lawyers, polemic orators and dashing soldiers of valor unsurpassed in any age or country. The tidewater counties of the Old Dominion thus peopled were backed and buttressed by that life—and character-giving tide of sturdy and matchless Scotch-Irish yeomanry which spread itself along the Eastern slope of the Appalachian range of Virginia and North Carolina and surged over into the fertile and teeming valleys beyond the Blue Ridge. Alexander Spotswood, who had seen service under Marlborough and with "our army in Flanders;" had traveled much through the then known world on embassies and other important errands, having dealings with all manner of peoples, at last finding himself in Virginia, where he was sent by the home

[1]George Washington, Woodrow Wilson, page 13.
[2]History of the Dividing Line, Wm. Byrd, page 4.

government as Colonial Governor of the Old Dominion, said of these people that he found among them "less swearing, less profaneness, less drunkenness and debauchery, less uncharitable feuds and animosity, and less knavery and villainy than in any part of the world" he had ever been.[2]

None will pretend that all who came to Virginia to seek their fortune or better their condition in this land of promise were *gentlemen* in the English acceptation of the term, and few could afford to send their sons to England to be educated, but "there were, at least, the traditions of culture in the colony and enough men of education and refinement to leaven the mass;" strong, thinking, highbred men who showed a mastery and leadership in all that tends to make a people good and great were found on all the great plantations that lined the rivers and streams and inlets of tidewater; and as Virginia rose from the condition of a mere colony to that of a sturdy commonwealth she "could boast her own breed of gentlemen, merchants, scholars and statesmen."

The widely differing political views and opinions held by the leading men of the North and South began to show their legitimate fruits in feelings and acts of enmity, hostility and estrangement almost immediately after the formation of the Union. This difference may be best understood by reviewing the political sentiments and doctrines entertained by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, the idols, respectively, of the New England or Monarchical party, and of the Southern, or Democratic, party.

[2]Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, page 28.

Hamilton was a monarchist pure and simple, desiring and laboring to establish in this country a government that should be in everything, except its name, a kingdom instead of a republic.

Luther Martin said of Hamilton and his followers: "It was a party whose object and wish was to abolish and annihilate all the State Governments and bring forward one general government over all this extended continent of a Monarchical nature."

Throughout the writings of Jefferson we find frequent allusions to and consideration of the Monarchical views held and disseminated by Hamilton. He and Hamilton were in Washington's Cabinet together, and thirty years afterwards, while calmly reviewing the many stirring and often exciting incidents of debate and clashing of opinions and principles around the Council Table, he tells us: "Hamilton was not only a Monarchist, but for a Monarchy bottomed on corruption." And Hamilton, himself, declared: "I have no objection to a trial of this thing called a republic, but for my part I avow myself a Monarchist." And in August, 1791, three years after the adoption of the Constitution under which we are now living, Hamilton, in conversation with Mr. Jefferson, declared: "I own it is my opinion that the present Government is not that which will answer, and that it will be found expedient to go into the British form." In other and plainer words, to become a Monarchy.

Washington, who had previously been in sympathy and affiliation with the Federalist party,

as the followers of Hamilton were called, shared the alarm of his Cabinet and the friends of his Administration caused by such treasonable sentiments and utterances of his Secretary of the Treasury, and, in July, 1792, wrote to Hamilton asking for an explanation of those rumors with which the country was filled. Washington, like Jefferson, was a Virginian, and had no sympathy with the Monarchical principles of Hamilton and his followers, as is plainly shown when he says, after his correspondence with his Secretary. "Those who lean to a Monarchical Government have either not consulted the public mind, or they live in a region which is more productive of Monarchical ideas than is the case in the Southern States." Thus, it is seen that as early as 1790 there existed great difference and antagonism between the Statesmen of the North and South on the subject of government; and if we go back still farther we find those same parties and principles pitted against each other in the Convention that formed the Constitution. There we see the Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian parties sharply and clearly aligned aganist each other; the one in favor of a government by the people with powers cautiously limited and clearly defined in the Constitution; the other in favor of what they called, and what their successors, the Republican party of today, still call "a strong Government" with all the arbitrary powers of a Monarchy without its name. "The Jeffersonian idea was that the people are the masters of the Government. The Hamiltonian idea was that the Government is

the Master of the people." The struggle between the friends and supporters of these opposing and conflicting ideas was earnest and obstinate, causing long and sometimes bitter debates which called out all the fiery eloquence for which the Constitutional Convention was noted. In the end the Jeffersonian Party prevailed and gave to the country a Democratic Constitution.

Hamilton expressed his bitter disappointment in a letter to Morris in 1802 in which he said: "No man has done more to uphold the present Constitution than myself, and I am still laboring to prop the frail and worthless fabric; yet, I have nothing but the murmurs of its friends and the curses of its foes for my reward. Every day proves to me more and more that this American world was not made for me, and what better can I do than withdraw from the scene." If he had withdrawn before he inculcated his baleful doctrines and formed his party of destruction, history would not have had to record three-quarters of a century later the sad spectacle of a country torn asunder by fratricidal strife, and that section of it which always plead for peace deluged with blood and overwhelmed with desolation.

The Hamiltonian or Federalist Party embraced, as the Republican Party of today has always done, a vast majority of the men of wealth and high social position in the North. General Washington served the country eight years as President, and his over-shadowing popularity with his well-known and undoubted Southern sentiments overruled and held down everything like the ambition

of cliques and sectional bitterness. But as soon as his presidency was at an end, and his successor had to be chosen the Federalists, the sworn enemies of Democratic principles of government and Jeffersonian simplicity of public administration, again showed the cloven foot of their Monarchical, or "strong government" ideas, and nearly every safeguard which the Constitution throws around the liberties of the people was threatened or overthrown. Then it was that the slumbering antagonism between the political principles of the leading statesmen of the North and South began to assume a well-defined shape in the division of parties.

John Adams, of Massachusetts was an original Democrat, and his great and valuable services to the country during the Revolution are well-known and acknowledged. President Washington had sent him as Minister to England, and his residence there had completely dazzled and fascinated him with the pomp and glare and glitter of Royalty and Nobility, and he conceived those attributes of Monarchy to be a necessary ingredient of Government. He was taken up and flattered and cajoled by the Federalists in his absence and, on his return to the United States, was made their candidate for President; just as, in our own day, General Grant, who had been a lifelong Democrat and a slaveholder, was seduced to follow the loaves and fishes of Federal patronage and, deserting his real political principles, bowed down to the god of pomp and power and emolument, whose shrine is public office.

Under the Adams Administration the most foolish and oppressive laws were enacted by the Federalist majority in Congress. Among those acts were the famous, or rather infamous "Alien and Sedition Laws" which gave the President power to banish all aliens from the United States, or lock them up in prison during his pleasure, and to cause the arrest and imprisonment of any person who should dare to write or speak anything against the President or Congress, thus putting in the President's hands as arbitrary and despotic power as was ever wielded by the "Czar of all the Russias."

Under the exercise of such shameful and despotic authority, which jeopardized the liberty of every citizen of the United States, the Honorable Matthew Lyon, a Democrat and public-spirited citizen, for daring to criticize "the ridiculous and idle parade" of the President, was seized and thrust into a cold dungeon six feet square to starve and freeze during one whole winter, and was liberated only on the payment of a fiine of one thousand dollars. As another specimen of the exercise of this kingly power which ran riot in cruelty and mob violence, General Sumter, an aged veteran and one of the most distinguished patriots of the country, was knocked down and brutally beaten by an officer of the Administration at a theater in Philadelphia because he neglected to *take off his hat* when it was announced that the President was coming in.[1] As expressive of the monarchical spirit of the Party in power, an ad-

[1]Writings of John Wood, historian of the times.

dress to the President dated May 1st, 1798, declared: "We, the subscribers, inhabitants and citizens of Boston, beg leave to express to you, the Chief Magistrate and *Supreme Ruler* of the United States, our fullest approbation of all the measures you have been pleased to adopt under direction of *Divine Authority.*" Surely that was the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings unadulterated!

The defeat and overthrow of the despotic and unconstitutional regime of the Federalist Party was accomplished by the wisdom and patriotism of the United South under the leadership of Jefferson and Madison. Those pure patriots and incorruptible statesmen drew up the famous "Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798," which were adopted by the Legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky and accepted by the entire South with the same unanimity with which they were condemned and rejected by the North.

These Resolutions "pointedly condemn all the despotic and revolutionary acts of the Adams Administration as subversive of the free Government of the United States, and clearly set forth all the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from a compact or agreement between sovereign and independent States, each State possessing 'an equal right to decide for itself as well of infractions as of the mode and manner of redress.'"

The Federalists, thus attacked in their stronghold, raised a wild cry of alarm and desperation, but the friends of Democracy everywhere, North as well as South, adopted the resolutions as their

written creed of political faith, and on that platform Jefferson was elected President and the Federalists were hurled from power. The wildest excesses of violent language and actions marked the downfall of the defeated Federalists. Jefferson was denounced as "an infidel," "a Jacobin," "a traitor" and "a scoundrel." These vile epithets were hurled at the head of the author of the Declaration of Independence from pulpits, rostrums and legislative halls all over the North, and from the Editorial rooms of every Federalist newspaper in the country.

The hatred of Jefferson and all the leading statesmen of the South did not die with that generation, but parents taught their children to hate, not only the leaders, but the whole Southern people, thus sowing the seeds of that "irrepressible conflict" which should, in the coming years, either destroy the Union, which they hated, or crush the South under a deluge of murder and rapine.

Thus defeated in their purpose to lead or drive the people into a form of government administered on Monarchical principles, and ignominiously driven from power by the election of Jefferson, the Federalist leaders set to work with renewed determination and envenomed hate to excite the resentment and inflame the passions of their followers to such a pitch of fanaticism as would enable them to disrupt the Union and destroy the Constitution, both of which they had always hated and reviled. Abundant historical and irrefutable proof of this fact could be compiled from many sources, but the limits of this paper will not ad-

mit such voluminous records. In a letter dated in 1796 Mr. Jefferson says: "The Alien and Sedition Laws are working hard. For my own part I consider the laws merely as an experiment on the American mind to see how far it will bear an avowed violation of the Constitution. If this goes down we shall immediately see another act of Congress declaring that the President shall continue in office during life, reserving to another occasion the transfer of the succession to his heirs and the establishment of a Senate for life." In a letter to Samuel Ringgold, written from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1800, John Langdon says: "In a conversation between Mr. Adams, Mr. Taylor and myself, Mr. Adams certainly expressed a hope or expectation that his friend, Giles, would see the day when he would be convinced that the people of America would not be happy without an hereditary Chief Magistrate and Senate, or, at least, for life." In another letter Jefferson says: "A weighty minority of the Federalist leaders, considering a voluntary conversion into a Monarchy as too distant, if not too desperate, wish to break off from our Union its eastern fragment, as being in fact the hotbed of American Monarchism, with a view to the commencement of their favorite government, from which other States may gangrene by degrees and the whole, thus by degrees be brought to the desired point."

Matthew Cary, an eminent author in his day, compiles a volume of facts in his great work, "The Olive Branch," showing a conspiracy in New Eng-

land to break up the Union as early as 1796. The following extract is a sample of the well attested facts he there records:

"A Northern Confederacy has been their object for a number of years. They have repeatedly advocated in the public prints a separation of the States on account of pretended discordant views and interests of the different sections. This project of separation was formed shortly after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Whether it was ventured before the public earlier than 1796 I know not, but of its promulgation that year there is most indubitable evidence. To sow discord, jealousy and hostility between different sections of the Union was the first grand step in their career in order to accomplish the favorite object of a separation of the States. For eighteen years, therefore, from 1796 to 1814, the most unceasing endeavors have been used to poison the minds of the people of the Eastern States towards, and to alienate them from their fellow citizens of the Southern States. Nothing can exceed the violence of these caricatures, some of which would have suited the ferocious inhabitants of New Zealand rather than a civilized and polished nation."[1]

In that same year of 1796 there were published in Hartford, Connecticut, a series of papers over the signature of "Pelham" which, Cary tells us, "were the joint production of men of the finest talent in New England." This extract from the first number of those papers will amply show that

[1]The Olive Branch, Matthew Cary, Library of Congress.

they were launched for the sole and undisguised purpose of destroying the Union, of which unpardonable sin the South was afterwards, and is still, so bitterly accused and reviled, by the children and descendants of those same people:

"The Northern States can exist as a nation without any connection with the Southern. It cannot be contested that if the Southern States were possessed of the same political ideas, our Union would be more close, but when it becomes a serious question whether we must give up our government or part with the States south of the Potomac no man north of that river whose heart is not thoroughly Democratic can hesitate what decision to make." And this was written in 1796.

It shows the fealty of the South to Democratic principles of government, and her love and veneration for the Constitution was the cause of all the cunning hatred and abuse heaped upon her by the Federalist Monarchy loving leaders of New England. They deliberately plotted and planned to overthrow and destroy the Union, which had been established by the adoption of the Constitution only eight years before, because the South was so thoroughly Democratic.

Thus was inaugurated at that early day an unrelenting political and social war upon the South by the Federalists of the New England States which raged with increasing estrangement and hatred until the threatening war cloud burst at last upon the country in a deluge of blood.

CHAPTER II.

During the troubled period of nearly seventy years, from 1796 to 1860, while the muttering thunders of discord and dissolution were gathering increasing force and intensity, if all the vile abuse and vituperation of the South which was published in Northern papers and books were gathered into one stupendous work it would form an encyclopedia of a hundred folio volumes.

But the complete triumph and ascendancy of the Democratic Party over that pernicious South hating, Union reviling faction saved the country from open rupture for the long period of over sixty years.

The political, moral and social peace of the country was broken and destroyed by the old Federalist Party nearly three quarters of a century before the Union was finally torn asunder as an inevitable result of their traitorous teachings and perpetual wrangling. But there existed throughout the Northern States, both in and out of New England, a weighty minority of patriotic men whose true Democratic principles could not be shaken or swerved or seduced from their loyalty and devotion to the Government established by the wisdom of the fathers and cemented by the blood of the Revolution and they, standing squarely with the solid South under the leadership of such men as Jefferson and Madison and Monroe and Mason and a host of others tried and true, both north and south of the Potomac, made it possible to protect, defend and preserve the

integrity of the Union and the Constitution until the fateful year of 1860.

In 1809 a conspiracy was discovered, between the agents of the British Government in Canada and the leading Federalists of New England, to disrupt the Union and establish a Northern Confederacy in political alliance with the Government of England. Mr. Madison was then President and, in a message to Congress, he said: "I lay before Congress copies of certain documents which remain in the Department of State. They prove that, at a recent period, on the part of the British Government, through its public ministry here, a secret agent of that Government was employed in certain States, more especially at the seat of Government in the State of Massachusetts, in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the country; and intrigued with the disaffected for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws; and eventually, in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union, and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain."[1]

This astonishing message to Congress created a great flutter and wild consternation among the New England Federalists and traitors to the Union. It established, by unmistakable and indisputable proofs, that they had guiltily and traitorously conspired with a foreign power to disrupt and overthrow the Union because they had failed to subvert the Democratic form of Government established by the people. The British conspira-

[1]Messages of the Presidents.

tor who was sent to inaugurate and conduct this shameful conspiracy to overthrow and destroy the Government established by the Fathers of the country wrote back to those who employed him that he found the leaders of New England ripe and ready for anything which could be made to sever the Union, but that love for the Union was so strong among the masses of the people who had fought and suffered to establish it that he doubted if it could be dissolved at the time and in the manner in which it has been undertaken; and suggested that the only feasible way in which disunion could be successfully accomplished would be to start some sectional question or dispute by which the prejudices and passions of the people could be excited and embroiled to the point of physical strife and, thus, accomplish the object of dissolution.

In the war of 1812 between the United States and England the Federalists of New England sympathized with England as far as they could possibly go without actually taking up arms against the United States. John Quincy Adams, a Massachusetts man of the straightest sect, but one who is given credit for the honesty of his utterances, is forced to declare that: "In the Eastern States curses and anathemas were liberally hurled from the Pulpits on the heads of all those who sided, directly or indirectly, in carrying on the war." Caleb Strong was then Governor of Massachusetts. The following resolution was introduced in the Legislature of that State: "And, therefore, be it resolved that we recommend to

his Excellency, Caleb Strong, to take the revenue of the State into his own hands, arm and equip the militia and declare us independent of the Union."

At the same time Fisher Ames, one of the most distinguished leaders of political thought in New England, said: "Our country is too big for Union, too sordid for patriotism, too Democratic for liberty. Our disease is Democracy; it is not the skin, only, that festers, our very bones are carious, and their marrow blackens with gangrene."

The Rev. Dr. Dwight, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, President of Yale University and accounted one of the ablest theologians of New England, said: "The Declaration of Independence is a wicked thing. I thought so when it was proclaimed, and I think so still."

One of the leading papers of Boston declared as the sentiment of the Party: "We never fought for a republic. The form of our Government was the result of necessity, not the offspring of choice."

The Boston Gazette threatened President Madison with death if he attempted to compel the Eastern States to fight against[1] England at that time.

And yet, in after years, those same people, or their descendants, raised a howl of Pharisaical indignation and hurled an avalanche of abuse at Virginia because when their idol, Lincoln, required her to "level her guns on her Southern sisters," she refused and exercised her reserved and un-

[1]See files of Boston Gazette in Library of Congress.

questioned right to withdraw from the Union, rather than violate the Constitution under which we lived.

Time was now fully ripe for those scheming disunionists to put in effect the threats, and bring to fruition the plots which, for twenty years, they had been breathing and incubating; and this original secession movement reached its culmination in the famous Hartford Convention.

As previously noted, this movement was first set in motion by the publication of the Pelham Papers in the Hartford Courant commencing in 1798.[1] Moved by the spirit and led by the teachings of these publications, various acts and utterances, both by legislative enactment and the popular voice, paved the way for the assembling of that body of secessionists at Hartford. In the Massachusetts Legislature on June 15, 1813, Josiah Quincy offered a resolution which declared that "in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defence of our seacoast and soil." On February 18, 1814, a report to the Massachusetts Legislature declared, almost in the exact language of Madison's Virginia Resolution in 1798, that, "Whenever the National Compact is violated and the citizens of the State oppressed by cruel and unauthorized laws, the Legislature

[1]Scudder's American Commonwealths—Connecticut, pp. 350-52.

is bound to interpose its power and wrest from the oppressor its victim."[1] On October 16, the Legislature of Massachusetts voted to raise a million dollars to support a State army of ten thousand men to protect her own borders independent of the National Government and to request the New England States to meet in convention for the furtherance of her scheme to establish a government apart from, and independent of, the existing Union.

Two days later, on the 18th day of October, the Legislature in joint session, by the overwhelming vote of 226 to 67, appointed twelve delegates to represent the State of Massachusetts in the secession convention. By similar joint action the Legislature of Connecticut appointed seven delegates, and the Legislature of Rhode Island appointed four. New Hampshire sent two delegates and Vermont one, all of whom were appointed by Conventions of the people.[2]

The Convention met at Hartford, Connecticut, on December 15, 1814, and remained in session three weeks, adjourning on the 5th of January, 1815. Bishop Chase, of the Episcopal Church, was requested to open the Convention with prayer but refused, saying he "knew no form of prayer for rebellion."

All the deliberations of the Convention were conducted in secret session behind closed doors, therefore contemporary histories contain no detailed accounts of the debates and deliberative

[1]Prof. Hart, Epochs of American History, pp. 216-17.
[2]Dwight's History of the Hartford Convention.

actions of the body. Its sessions, however, were closely watched by the loyal and conservative element on the outside and at intervals a file of soldiers were marched around the building, followed by the usual gathering of boys and young men, with fife and drum in derision and contempt playing the "Rogue's March."

Mr. Jefferson, in his correspondence wrote of the Convention while in session, "It is a disagreeable circumstance, but not a dangerous one. If they become neutral we are sufficient for one enemy without them; and, in fact, we get no aid from them now."

Although all its deliberations had been in secret, the Convention, on adjournment, adopted a final and full report which was widely published. This report submitted a long list of proposed amendments to the Federal Constitution which were so sweeping and radical in their demands that compliance therewith would have stripped the General Government of practically all financial and military support and effected a virtual dissolution of the Constitution. Thinly veiled behind the whole report was an implied determination to withdraw from the Union unless those demands were met and complied with. Thus, the report declared that the Constitution had been violated and that "States which have no common umpire must be their own judges and execute their own decisions."[1]

Provision was also made for another Conven-

[1]McDonald's Select Documents, pp. 189-207; Hart's Epochs of American History, pp. 217-18.

tion to meet in Boston on the second Thursday in June following, to put in effect the line of action marked out by the Hartford Convention, such action, of course, to be determined by the disposition made of the report by Congress, before which body it was to be laid.

The Legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut appointed three Commissioners to proceed to Washington and lay this ultimatum before the General Government, but before they arrived at the Capital news reached them that peace with England had been declared and the report was never submitted. I have dwelt thus upon these purely historical facts and incidents for two reasons, first, to show that up to the time when the Southern States quietly seceded, thus doing exactly what the New England States had so early, so often and so persistently threatened to do, but had not the moral courage to put into effect, no party of men, and no section of the country had ever thought of denying or questioning the legal and moral right of the States to withdraw from the Union whenever their Constitutional rights were violated or disregarded by the general Government; the right of secession had, in the superb language of John W. Daniel, "been preached upon the hustings, enunciated in political platforms, proclaimed in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, embodied in our literature, taught in schools and Colleges, interwoven with the texts of our jurisprudence and maintained by scholars, statesmen and constituencies of all States and sections of the country," the States, them-

selves, to be the Judges of when and how those rights were violated; and, secondly, to show and impress upon our children, what all the world now knows, that the New England States were the hotbed from which sprang the original doctrine of secession, and their soil the fruitful field in which were propagated the noxious and noisome weeds of sectional hatred and political dissolution.

Thus foiled and headed off, as we have seen, in their nefarious scheming and intrigue to antagonize the sections and overthrow the Government established by Washington and Jefferson and Madison, and finding themselves permanently driven from power by the Jeffersonian, or Democratic Party, the old disunion Party of Hamilton and Adams, following the suggestion of the British conspirator, Henry, who was exposed and driven from the country by President Madison, set about to find some sectional and social issue on which they could rally and keep alive their waning partisan strength.

They settled upon Negro Slavery, that "Ilion of all our woes." The Southern States, and especially Virginia, had always opposed slavery, and struggled hard to resist and prevent its introduction into the Colonies. "Again and again," according to the historian, Bancroft, "they had passed laws restraining the importation of slaves from Africa, but all their laws were disallowed"[1] and set aside by the ruling powers, both at home and across the sea. Finally, in 1772, the House of

[1]History United States, Bancroft, Vol. 3, p. 410.

Burgesses of Virginia addressed a pathetic petition directly to the King of England imploring "Your Majesty's paternal assistance in averting a calamity of the most alarming nature. The importation of slaves from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and under its present encouragement we have too much reason to fear will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions."[2] But the King and his Ministers continued to turn a deaf ear to all such appeals, and George the Third issued instructions under his own hand commanding the Governor of the Colony "upon pain of the highest displeasure to assent to no laws by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed."

That the wild rage of New England fanaticism aroused and exhibited by the leaders of the old disunion party in prosecuting their newly discovered fad of abolitionism arose from any love for, or sympathy with, the negro is too shallow and transparent a pretense to need serious refutation. Slavery had existed in every one of the Northern States, and the wealthy ship owners of New England were actively engaged in the infamous but lucrative slave trade, and many of the leaders of their party had grown rich by bringing negroes to our shores and selling them to the Southern planters. But the climate of the Northern States was so cold, and the main industries of New England being directed to manufactures and commerce, the savage and untutored negro

[2]Journal of the House of Burgesses, p. 131.

from the hot jungles of Africa was found to be unprofitable, and after the most salable and valuable had been run off and sold to the South, and the money securely pocketed, the few remaining were declared free.

The most convincing and damning proof of the insincerity and hypocrisy of New England's pretended love for the negro and abhorence of slavery was shown in the framing and adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1787. Then was the supreme opportunity for the suppression of the abominable slave trade thus paving the way for gradual and final emancipation. Virginia labored earnestly, entreated, implored and voted for its immediate suppression, in which she was joined by New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, but the votes of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut caused its defeat and secured a prolongation of the infamous traffic for twenty years, from 1787 to 1808.[1] Thus the avarice and inhumanity of New England obtained for her a twenty years' extension of license to prey upon a harmless and inoffensive race, and fill her coffers with blood money wrung from the helpless African, while she had ample time either to dispose of her ships or direct her commerce into other channels.

[1]Critical Periods in American History, p. 264.

CHAPTER III.

After the adoption of the "Missouri Compromise" and the admission of that State into the Union, by which measures slavery was restricted to the territory south of a line running thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes North, a season of comparative quiet ensued during which period extending from 1820 to 1840, arose the great issues of Bank, Tariff and other questions of internal policy upon which parties divided and which were fought out under the leadership of such men as Jackson, Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Hayne and other patriots and statesmen of national fame.

But all that while the leaven of abolitionism was working quietly and insidiously among the masses of New England, and fanatics sprang up all over the country, proclaiming "the enormity of slavery as a sin and a crime against God."

In 1821 was commenced the publication of the first Abolition paper called "The Genius of Universal Emancipation." In 1823 the first Abolition Society was organized, and similar societies sprang up in rapid succession all over New England. Money was lavished to spread the new doctrine that slavery was "a crime," and slaveholders were "thieves" and "murderers." These slanders upon such men as Washington, Jefferson, Madison and many other great and good men, statesmen whose valor and patriotism and wisdom had achieved the independence of the country and established the Government, all of whom

were slaveholders, at first provoked difficulties and riots all over the North, the people being, as yet, unperverted by the abominable and disgusting teachings of negro equality and miscegenation. In 1834 the house of an abolition leader was mobbed in New York; the church of an abolition preacher was attacked, and a hall in which an abolition meeting was being held in Philadelphia, was burned down.[1]

Still, those raving fanatics continued their work of printing books, tracts, pamphlets, magazines and newspapers and scattering them broadcast over the country without money and without price. They had, at last, found a "sectional issue" and a "social question" upon which they could vent all their fanatical rage, and enlist and combine all their powers and resources—hate-inspired falsehood and misrepresentations—to drive the South from a Union which they, themselves, had always hated, and from which, for seventy years, had been longing and threatening to withdraw.

No question could have been better suited to their purpose. The great body of the negroes were in the Southern States, and the Northern people outside of New England, in those states where slavery had never found a foothold, or, long since, had ceased to exist, did not, and could not understand the real facts and the true conditions of the slaves of the South. They, therefore, were dependent on, and fain to accept, the reports and pamphlets and newspapers published mostly by unprincipled men and ambitious politicians, and

[1]Youth's History of the Great Civil War, p. 445.

such books as Uncle Tom's Cabin, itself a vile slander and misleading libel on the whole Southern people.

It is a simple historical fact now recognized everywhere, and which no well-informed, unprejudiced and truth-loving man or woman will wish or dare to deny, that the four million slaves of the South were the best cared for, best conditioned and most contented and happy body of negroes that ever existed on earth; and our form of society had civilized and Christianized them as no section of the negro race had ever been civilized and Christianized before.

But the abolitionists screamed and shouted from the housetops, and proclaimed with blare of trumpets through the land that the Constitution framed, and the Government established by Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Mason protected the Southern people in the most shameful and sinful and cruel system of oppression ever inflicted on a helpless and downtrodden people.

William Lloyd Garrison, who has the unenviable distinction of being the father of the abolition societies, commenced his great abolition movement by publicly burning the Constitution of the United States. And years afterwards he declared in a speech that: "No act of ours do we regard with more conscientious approval or higher satisfaction than when, several years ago, on the Fourth of July, in the presence of a great assembly we committed to the flames the Constitution of the United States."

And he said on another occasion: "This Union

is a lie! The American Union is an imposture—a covenant with death and an agreement with hell. I am for its overthrow. Up with the flag of disunion!"

Wendell Phillips, perhaps the ablest of all the abolition leaders, said: "The Constitution of our fathers was a mistake. Tear it to pieces and make a better one. Our aim is disunion, breaking up of the States." At an annual abolition convention a resolution was adopted which reads: "Resolved, that the abolitionists of this country should make it one of the primary objects of this agitation to dissolve the American Union." And these same people and their descendants have since had the brazen effrontery to declare that John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was the father of disunion.

Mr. Calhoun, in a speech in the United States Senate on March 7, 1850, said: "No man would feel more happy than myself to believe that this Union, formed by our ancestors, should live forever. Looking back to the long course of forty years service here, I have the consolation to believe that I have never done one act to weaken it—that I have done full justice to all sections. And if I have ever been exposed to the imputation of a contrary motive, it is because I have been willing to defend my section from unconstitutional encroachments." And in another speech the same great statesman said: "Abolition is the only question of sufficient magnitude and potency to divide this Union, and divide it, it will, or drench the country in blood, if not arrested. There are those who see no danger to the Union in the violation

of all its fundamental principles, but are full of apprehension when danger is foretold. If my attachment for the Union were less, I might tamper with the deep disease that now afflicts the body politic, and keep silent until the patient was ready to sink under the mortal blows."

Thus this great Southern statesman, when he knew that he was nearing the end of his career and of his life, yet thrilling with undying love for the Union and the Constitution, heard the muttering thunders, saw with prophetic ken the gathering storm, and warned his countrymen, both North and South, to rise up in their might and suppress it.

Jefferson Davis, who was a member during the same term of the United States Senate, said in a speech delivered in that body on June 27, 1850: "If I have a superstition, Sir, which governs my mind and holds it captive, it is a superstitious reverence for the Union. If one can inherit a sentiment I may be said to have inherited this from my revolutionary father."

By all the preceding facts and utterances, culled from the authentic histories of the times, it is clearly established beyond doubt or cavil, that the wicked doctrine of disunionism had its birth and origin in the North; and while the abolitionists were boldly and wickedly preaching up a mad crusade against the Union, and educating a generation to hate the Government of our fathers, Southern men and the great leaders of the South were begging, imploring and pleading for "Union, Constitution and Enforcement of the Laws."

CHAPTER IV.

After the great questions of Bank and Tariff, which, for twenty years had arrayed the two great parties of the country, the Whig and the Democratic parties, against each other in fiery debate, though without sectional bitterness, had been, as it was hoped, finally disposed of, and during the season of quiet which followed the Whig party commenced gradually to dissolve and disintegrate, although they put a national ticket for President in the field in 1860. After that campaign, and during the momentous events which followed the party disappeared entirely, as an organization, from the arena of American politics.

But during the latter part of the period mentioned, from 1850 to 1854, a shrewd and unscrupulous politician, William H. Seward, of New York, conceived the plan of creating a new political party on which he could, himself, ride into power. Seward commenced life as a "Yankee Schoolmaster" in the South, where he was treated with that kind but condescending indifference accorded to all of his hireling class of adventurers by the proud and highminded planters and landed proprietors of that section. General Donn Piatt, who rose to a position of prominence in the Federal Army, was a personal friend of Seward, whom he thus describes in his character sketches after the war: "Seward looked down on the white men of the South in the same cynical way that he did upon the slaves. He had no pity for the slaves

and no hatred for the master. He had contempt for them all, which he concealed as carefully as he did his contempt for the United States Constitution. Seward had trained himself to believe that worldly wickedness indicated ability. He thought to be bad was to be clever. He thought devotion to wine, women and infidelity gave proof of superior intelligence. He affected a wickedness he did not always feel because such wickedness, in his estimation, was good form."[1]

In politics Seward was a Hamiltonian Federalist, who had been Governor of the State of New York and was now in the United States Senate. The old Federalist party, long ago crushed and driven from power, had lain broken and helpless for more than two decades. Seward knew that the abolitionists of New England had, by thirty years of education of the public mind and the persistent training of a rising generation, created throughout the North a passionate and undying hatred of the South and her institutions, and he determined, by uniting that element with the broken remains of the old Federalist organization, to create a new sectional party which should sweep itself into power and secure the darling and long cherished purpose of both factions—the overthrow of the Constitution and the destruction of the labor system of the South.

With that wicked programme in view this wily politician, William H. Seward, who afterwards became Secretary of State in Lincoln's Cabinet, and, as such, the real head of the Federal Govern-

[1]The Men Who Saved the Union, Donn Pratt, pp.

ment, issued a call for a Convention to meet at Auburn, New York, on September 26, 1854, "to organize a Republican Party which shall represent the friends of freedom." This meeting of destructionists determined to issue a call for a Convention to be composed of delegates from the Northern states only, to meet on July 4, 1856, and nominate a candidate for President of the United States. The Convention met according to programme and nominated John C. Fremont.

Thus was born that purely sectional party which arbitrarily assumed the honored name previously borne by the followers of Jefferson, and was known throughout the War and the darker Reconstruction Period which followed, as the Black Republican Party; a party which deluged the country with blood, sacrificed a million lives and destroyed untold billions of property—an appalling hecatomb piled on the altar of sectional hate and unreasoning fanaticism.

Then arose the great Kansas excitement. Kansas was a territory lying west of the State of Missouri, and, therefore, south of the extended line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes which was agreed upon by the "Missouri Compromise" as the northern limit of slavery. When this territory was thrown open to settlement it at once became apparent that it would be largely occupied by Southern people. The abolitionists of the North promptly "threw themselves into the breach." Emigrant societies were organized all over New England, large sums of money were raised, arms and ammunition purchased and hordes of aboli-

tionists were rushed out to take possession of the country and prevent it from becoming a "Slave State."

One of the leaders of those adventurers was John Brown, whose aim and ambition was to get up a war if he could. The abolition preachers all over New England were active and zealous in exciting their people to deeds of violence and bloodshed.

Henry Ward Beecher, the idolized and lionized pastor of the famous "Plymouth Congregation," told his people that in dealing with slaveholders "Sharp's rifles are better than Bibles," and that "it is a crime to shoot at a slaveholder and not hit him."

All over New England and largely in the Northern States this fanaticism prevailed. Ministers of the Gospel of Peace bought and distributed guns and rifles for the Devil's work of crime and bloodshed. The North was being slowly but surely educated for the carnival of slaughter and arson that speedily followed.

I have shown indisputably all through this paper that there had always existed at the North a powerful element opposed to the Union as it was formed and the Government as it was administered. Yet, throughout that long period from the formation of the Government, in 1787, to Lincoln's election in 1860, not one single Southern statesman ever raised his voice against the Union as it was organized by our patriotic forefathers. The South was solid in its admiration of, and its devotion to the principles of Government on which

the Union was founded. But on this vital subject the North was divided. The Democratic party was attached to the Union and devoted to its principles. The Black Republican party was an enemy to both the Union and the Constitution.

As already shown, there were in the Republican party as organized, two factions, the fanatical abolitionists, and the survivors or representatives of the old Federalist or Hamiltonian party. But they were united in their desire and aim to trample upon the Constitution and revolutionize the Government; and nothing that the South could have done less than an entire and absolute surrender of her institutions and all her rights as separate and independent states would have satisfied them. Their plans and intentions were plainly set forth in a speech by Governor Banks, of Massachusetts, in 1856, in which he said: "I can conceive of a time when this Constitution shall not be in existence—when we shall have an absolute dictatorial government transmitted from age to age, with men at its head who are made rulers by military commission, or who claim an hereditary right to govern those over whom they are placed." When the war which those unreasoning fanatics forced upon the South did finally burst in all its fury, this same Banks became a General in the invading army, and after his flight across the Potomac from the Shenandoah Valley to escape the pursuing vengeance of Stonewall Jackson's "foot cavalry," in another speech at Arlington he said, pointing to the Capitol in Washington: "When this war is over, that will be the Capitol of a great nation.

Then there will be no longer New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians and Virginians, but we shall all be simply Americans." Senator Cameron, of Pennsylvania, expressed the same views and sentiments at a public dinner in Washington and those views were echoed and re-echoed all over the North by the henchmen and mouthpieces of the new party, plainly showing that the aim and object of that party was to crush the South into submission, destroy the autonomy of all the States and consolidate them all into one great despotic Government. And that is exactly the kind of government they did force upon the country in the Administration of Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER V.

Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency by the Convention which met in Chicago in 1860, and the campaign which resulted in his election was conducted with such a spirit of violence and malignity towards the South that our people were thoroughly alarmed and fully convinced that their society and their lives would not be safe in the Union if that party should come into power.

An infamous book breathing sedition and murder had been published the year before known as "The Helper Book,"[1] and a hundred thousand copies of it were circulated with money raised by subscription among the Black Republican members of Congress. This abominable book boldly threatened the people of the South with assassination and death by any means that would enable those vandals to liberate the slaves and subvert the society of the Southern States. A few extracts from its murder-breathing pages will suffice to fix its infamy forever in the memory of ourselves and our children: "Against slaveholders as a body we wage exterminating war." "We contend that slaveholders are more criminal than common murderers." "The negroes, nine cases out of ten, would be delighted at the opportunity to cut their Masters' throats."

"Smallpox is a nuisance; strychnine is a nuisance; mad-dogs are a nuisance, and so are slave-

[1]So called from the name of its author, H. R. Helper, a renegade North Carolinian who "left his country for his country's good."—The Impending Crisis Dissected, Wolfe, pp. 1-45.

holders; it is our business, nay it is our imperative duty to abate nuisances; we propose, therefore, with the exception of strychnine, to exterminate this catalogue from beginning to end."[1]

This outrageous book contained three hundred pages of such murderous and abominable stuff and, used as a campaign document in the canvass that resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, did not fail to fill the South with indignation and alarm. As previously said, the leading Republican members of Congress subscribed for the free distribution of a hundred thousand copies; and William H. Seward, the originator and father of the Black Republican party, gave it his special endorsement in which he declared it "a work of great merit."

The book was preceded and followed by speeches and pamphlets from radical politicians all over the North that were equally disgusting and brutal in tone and sentiment. Joshua Giddings, a leading politician and Congressman of Ohio (Ohio, one of the five states that Virginia had presented as a free gift to the Union), said in one of those bitter and murderous harangues: "I look forward to a day when I shall see a servile insurrection in the South. When the black man, supplied with bayonets, shall wage a war of extermination against the whites; when the master shall see his dwelling in flames and his hearth polluted; and though I may not mock at their calamity and laugh when their fear cometh, yet I shall hail it as the dawn of a political millenium."

[1]The Impending Crisis in the South, H. R. Helper, pp. 120-139.

Erastus Hopkins said: "If peaceful means fail us and we are driven to the last extremity when ballots are useless, then we will make bullets effective."

For years Northern pulpits and Northern newspapers and pamphlets and books had boiled and seethed and bubbled over with such bloody threats against the people of the South, who had never harmed or given them cause for offense and only asked to be let alone.

But time was now fully ripe to wreak their causeless vengeance and put their bloody threats into execution. In 1859, less than two years before the election of Lincoln, John Brown, a native of New England and a sojourner in Kansas, came into Virginia with a band of men for the purpose of inciting and leading an insurrection of the negroes to murder the white men and women and children of the South. Brown and his gang of murderers were armed themselves, and supplied with "pikes,"[1] made in New England, to distribute to the negroes, who were ignorant of the use of firearms, and plenty of guns and ammunition bought with money secretly contributed in the North, with which they hoped to inaugurate a general uprising, and a regular holocaust of murder, arson and rapine.

But the plot was discovered and nipped in the bud by the prompt and timely action of the State and Federal authorities, and Brown and his gang were captured and hung by regular process of law

[1]One of those pikes is now on exihibition in the State Library at Richmond.

in the Virginia courts. The calm, deliberate and lawful execution of this man by the sovereign and outraged State of Virginia caused a fearful outbreak of fury and rage and redoubled threats of retaliatory vengeance at the North.

Prayer meetings were held in most of the churches in New England and practically throughout the North and West, including "Bleeding Kansas," who has placed a statue of Brown in the Hall of Fame at the Nation's Capitol, where he stands shoulder to shoulder with those peerless gentlemen and patriots, George Washington and Robert E. Lee.

Those prayer meetings were held to invoke the vengeance of Heaven on those who had caused the just penalty of the law to fall upon one of the most pitiless murderers ever known in the criminal annals of this country, and bells were tolled to glorify his memory. At a public meeting in Massachusetts, attended by United States Senators and other men of prominence in the political history of the Puritan State, it was unanimously "Resolved, that it is the right and duty of slaves to resist their masters, and the right and duty of the people of the North to incite them to resistance and to aid them in it."

At Rocheford, Illinois, a public meeting called by the leading citizens, unanimously "Resolved, that the City bells be tolled one hour in commemoration of John Brown."

Horace Greeley, the famous founder and Editor of the New York Tribune, and one of the headlights of the abolition party, said: "Let no one

doubt that History will accord an honorable niche to John Brown."

Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose writings, when purged of the taint of New England fanaticism, are read and admired and quoted approvingly in two hemispheres, said that the hanging of Brown, "made the gallows as glorious as the Cross." And afterwards he added to that sacriligious utterance the further information that "Our Captain Brown is happily a representative of the American Republic. He did not believe in moral suasion, but in putting things through."

A volume of many thousand pages might be filled with similar extracts from sermons, prayers, speeches and newspapers all over the North, showing the spirit of wild fanaticism and venomous hate that had taken possession of the public mind, or at least, the mind of that portion of the public that was swayed by such fanatical teachers as Garrison and Phillips and Emerson and Beecher and Seward and their immediate dupes and followers.

It was in the midst of this wild excitement that Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency by the party which had so universally endorsed and abetted Old John Brown's murderous raid into Virginia.

Thoroughly aroused and alarmed, the Southern people demanded a pledge or guarantee that the bloody and diabolical threats which had been so boldly and boastfully made against their institutions and property and lives should not be put into effect in case the Black Republican party

should come into power and get possession of the Government. Instead of pledges and reasonable assurances, they received sneers, abuse, reproaches, insults and additional threats.

The fact is, as was clearly indicated then by "the signs of the times" and fully proven since by the developments of historical truth, the abolition leaders were fully determined on war; and all their tricks and cunning were brought into play to goad or exasperate the South to commit what they chose to call an "overt act" to give them an excuse to let loose the dogs of war.

As already shown, and as all history fully substantiates, the Southern people had always been contented with the Union as it was established by the fathers, and only desired and demanded their just and equal rights under the Constitution. On the other hand the facts are equally patent and indisputable that in the North there had always been a busy and restless party working, by fair means and foul, to undermine and overthrow the Union because they hated the Constitution and were jealous of, and at enmity with the South because of her controlling influence in the formation and administration of the Government, and of the old grudge growing out of the early conflict between the Monarchial principles of Alexander Hamilton and the free Democratic principles of Thomas Jefferson, which latter principles prevailed and triumphed to the utter confusion and overthrow of the former. This old enmity and hatred on the part of the North had smouldered and burned with more or less intensity ever since

the formation of the Government and now, recruited and strengthened by the fiery and fanatical element of New England abolitionism, the combined forces felt themselves strong enough to precipitate on the South the long threatened and long dreaded war.

CHAPTER VI.

Lincoln was elected in the fall of 1860. He carried every Northern State except New Jersey, thus receiving a majority of the electoral votes, but he was in a minority of a million and a half of the popular vote. The Southern people were now thoroughly and fully aroused to the threatening and dangerous situation of affairs. The party coming into power had openly and persistently declared unrelenting and exterminating war against them. The Chicago platform was shrewdly and cautiously worded, but the spirit and temper of the party that promulgated it had previously been fully revealed and set forth by the violent and revolutionary utterances of its leading men all over the North, as hereinbefore extensively quoted.

As showing that the same spirit and intentions still prevailed, Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, whose speech on a former occasion is noticed on a previous page of this paper, declared on the floor of the Chicago Convention that its nominees could not get the support of the Abolition wing of the party unless the resolutions pledged the party as a whole to carry out the doctrine that "all men are created equal," which, in the abolition creed, had always meant negro emancipation and negro equality.

Thus, by a cunning and false use of a popular phrase in the Declaration of Independence, the Chicago Convention pledged itself to unprovoked and

unjust war upon the South to overturn and destroy Southern society, as it existed, and make the negro the political and social equal of the white man, "peaceably, perhaps, if they were permitted to do so, but forcibly if they must." And William H. Seward had avowed the same sentiment in a speech in the United States Senate. In the language telegraphed to his constituents by the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, then a member of Congress from Alabama, "the last argument for peace had been exhausted" and it was to save themselves from such a destructive and ruinous war that the Southern States determined to withdraw quietly and peaceably from the Union.

As previously shown, their right to do so had never been questioned or denied. They had all joined the Union without compulsion and by their own voluntary act, and the best and wisest men, both North and South, had always held and declared that the States, having only delegated certain powers to the Federal Government, could resume those powers whenever their interests and welfare demanded it.

As long ago as 1811 Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, an original and bitter Federalist, who was a member of Congress during Jefferson's administration, and who lived long enough to become a warm friend and supporter of Lincoln and the abolitionists, said in a speech against the bill to admit Louisiana as a State into the Union that, if the bill passed, "it will be the *right* of all and the *duty* of some to prepare for separation; amicably if they can, forcibly if they must." A mem-

ber called Mr. Quincy to order for making a "treasonable utterance" but the House of Representatives fully sustained him.

Judge William Rawle, of Pennsylvania, one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the United States, whom Washington appointed United States District Attorney in 1791, and afterwards tendered him a seat in his Cabinet, said in his book "Views of the United States Constitution:" "It depends on the State itself whether it will continue a member of the Union. To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principles upon which our political systems were founded. The States, may wholly withdraw from the Union, but while they continue they must retain the character of representative republics."

President Jefferson expressed the same view in a few words: "States may wholly withdraw their delegated powers." President Madison, in speaking of the States as the parties to a compact, said: "The States, themselves, must be the judges in the last resort whether the bargain made has been preserved or broken."

In 1833 President John Quincy Adams said if secession ever occurred "it would be better for the people of these disunited States to part in peace from each other than to be held together by constraint."

In 1850 Salmon P. Chase, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States, said in a speech in the United States Senate that "in the case of a State resuming her powers I know of no remedy to prevent it." In 1861 Edward Everett, of

Massachusetts, said: "To expect to hold fifteen States in the Union by force is preposterous. If our sister States must leave us, in the name of Heaven let them go in peace." Three days before South Carolina seceded, Horace Greeley said in the New York Tribune, which was always acknowledged as a leading organ of the Republican party, that "the Declaration of Independence fully justified her in the act." And again in February, 1861, the same paper said: "If the Cotton States desire to form an independent nation they have a clear moral right to do so."

And Abraham Lincoln, himself, after his inauguration as President, speaking through his Secretary of State, William H. Seward, on the 10th of April, 1861, said that he was "not disposed to reject a cardinal dogma of their (the Secessionists) namely, that the Federal Government cannot reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest even if he were disposed to question the proposition; but, in fact, the President willingly accepts it as true."[1]

Thus when in the light of all history, extending over a period of seventy years, and largely drawn from the acts and utterances of their own writers, speakers and leaders, the Southern States, fully convinced by a long and bitter experience of the impossibility of living together in a state of peace and harmony under the same Government with their bitter and implacable enemies, determined, purely as an act of self-defence, and self-preservation, to quietly, and, they hoped, peacefully, with-

[1]Letters and State Papers of Abraham Lincoln, N. & H.

draw from the Union, which all history shows, and all the world is now convinced, they had a perfect right to do, a wild hue and cry was raised all over the North by the same people and the same party who had always desired and threatened to do the same thing, that the South had made war on the Government for the purpose of "destroying the Union and perpetuating slavery."

Their act of withdrawal was in no possible sense a declaration of war upon the Federal Government. They had simply exercised their undeniable and unquestionable right, as expressed in the language of both Washington and Jefferson, "to resume their delegated powers" for the purpose of governing themselves, and conducting their own affairs in their own way without the continual intermeddling of New England fanatics who were never satisfied to "attend to their own business and leave their neighbors to do the same."

The Federal Government, with Abraham Lincoln as a convenient and pliant tool at its head, was driven by the whip and spur of those wild and unreasoning fanatics to inaugurate a bloody and cruel and unjust war upon a numerically weak and defenceless people who only asked to be let alone.

In retiring from the Union the seceding States offered and entreated peaceful negotiations in regard to all the public property claimed by the Federal Government within the jurisdiction of the retiring States. The forts and public buildings which they seized and offered to pay for could not have been built without the consent and co-

operation of the States in which they were located; they were built for the protection of the harbors and cities of those States; they were, therefore, "partnership property" each of the States being an equal partner in their ownership, and necessarily went with the withdrawing States who were willing, and offered to pay a just proportion of their cost.

Thus, the seceding States expressed an earnest desire to adjust all matters of dispute or contention by mutual and friendly agreement. They were neither rebels nor traitors. They acted purely upon their Constitutional rights, as were declared and acknowledged by the ablest Statesmen and patriots of all parties and all sections in all ages of the Government, and upon what was the unanimous understanding of the States when they adopted the Constitution. Not a single State would ever have become a member of the Union had she imagined that the Federal Government thus instituted would ever attempt to hold them in it by war and bloodshed.

But our wise and far-seeing Statesman and orator, Patrick Henry, foresaw the danger, and with all the thunders of his mighty eloquence warned his compatriots of the "poison under its wings," and, by his urgent and persistent advice, the State of Virginia, in her act of ratification and acceptance, inserted a clause expressly reserving the right to withdraw from the Union whenever her rights and privileges under the Constitution

were or should be violated or endangered without redress.[1]

The leaders of the party that forced and precipitated the war on the South, when they raised the diabolical cry of "rebel" and "traitor," knew in their hypocritical hearts that we were not traitors. They, or the majority of them had always been disunionists themselves. Many of them had been talking and writing and threatening secession for thirty years, and their fathers and predecessors had done the same thing for more than forty years before them. It was not love for the Union that caused them to wage the war. With some it was a settled and fiendish hatred of the South, with others a foolish and fanatical love of the negro, (at a distance), and with others, still—the descendants and successors of the old Federalist element—a traitorous desire to overthrow the free Government of the United States and establish a consolidated or "strong" government after annihilating the sovereignty of the States. So much for the leaders.

Of the great mass of soldiers that were drawn into it some were, doubtless, moved by patriotic motives, others of the more ignorant and least informed were made to believe that the South had declared war against the North, and others, still, were swept into the vortex without any motive at all. In the language of a Northern historian, who saw and knew whereof he wrote: "A wild and senseless excitement had broken out. Men did not reason, they raved. Those who hesitated and

[1]Life of Patrick Henry, Wm. Wirt and Debates of the Virginia Convention.

asked 'Why' were knocked down, and the Black Republican leaders instigated their followers to mob and intimidate and overawe every man who dared to think for himself, and reason or argue about the causes and object of the war."[1]

South Carolina seceded in December, 1860. She was followed in quick succession by all the Gulf States, including Florida and Louisiana, in January, 1861.

The South had always loved the Union, and did all she possibly could do with honor and self-respect to preserve its integrity without an ignoble and pusillanimous surrender of the rights and privileges guaranteed to her under the Constitution. The spirit of sorrow and deep regret and kindly feeling with which she severed her connection with the Northern States cannot be more truly and feelingly expressed than was done by those pure patriots and thrice honorable men, Jefferson Davis, the executive head, who guided the destinies of the new born nation, and Robert E. Lee, the Commander-in-Chief of her armies in the field. In retiring from the United States Senate to give his allegiance to, and cast his fortunes with his native State of Mississippi, which had already seceded, Mr. Davis said in closing one of the most feeling and eloquent speeches ever heard in that body: "Then, Senators, we recur to the compact that binds us together; we recur to the principles upon which our Government was founded; and when you deny them, and when you deny to us the right to withdraw from a Government which, thus perverted, threatens to be destructive

[1]History of the Great Civil War, Horton, p. 73.

of our rights, we but tread in the path of our fathers when we proclaim our independence and take the hazard. This is done, not in hostility to others, not to injure any section of the country, not even for our own pecuniary benefit; but from the high and solemn motive of defending and protecting the rights we inherited, and which it is our duty to transmit unshorn to our children. I am sure I feel no hostility toward you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and I feel I but express the desire of the people I represent when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceable relations with you, though we must part."

General Lee said after resigning his commission in the United States Army to offer his stainless sword to his own beloved Virginia: "All the South has ever asked or desired is, that the Union founded by our forefathers should be preserved; and that the Government, as it was originally organized, should be administered in purity and truth."

And as to the monstrous charge, made in the face of all the accumulated testimony of half a century to the contrary, that the South went to war to destroy the Union and perpetuate slavery, General Lee said on another occasion: "If I owned all the millions of slaves in the South I would free them all with a stroke of the pen to avert the war!"

In proof of his sincerity, if any proof were

needed, is the well-known fact that he never owned a slave, except a few he inherited from his mother's estate and he emancipated all of them long before the war. Stonewall Jackson never owned a slave except two, a man and a woman that he bought at their own request, and he at once gave them the privilege of buying their freedom with the wages received for their services to reimburse him for the price he paid for them. The man accepted the offer and in due time earned his freedom; but the woman declined the offer and chose to remain a servant in General Jackson's family. Joseph E. Johnson never owned a slave and, like General Lee, was sincerely opposed to slavery. A. P. Hill never owned a slave, and regarded "slavery as a great evil." J. E. B. Stuart inherited one slave from his father, and, while serving in the United States army in the far West, purchased another. Both of these he disposed of long before the war—one because of her cruelty to his child, and the other he sold to a man who engaged to take the negro back to his old home in Kentucky.

Fitzhugh Lee never owned a slave.

Commodore Matthew F. Maury, our great "Pathfinder of the Sea," never owned but one slave and she, a domestic, voluntarily remained a servant and member of his family until her death long after the war.

These are all historical facts duly recorded in the papers of the Virginia Historical Society, and in the private correspondence of the accomplished author of "Virginia's Attitude Towards Slavery and Secession," Mr. B. B. Munford.

So much for the Southern leaders. As to the rank and file of that glorious army which fought as never men fought, unfed, unclothed and unpaid, and wrote the title of American manhood and valor and patriotism as high on the scroll of fame as was ever reached by any soldiery in the records of the world's history, it is a well authenticated fact that perhaps four-fifths, and certainly three-fourths of them never owned a slave.

Dr. Hunter McGuire, in his admirable work "The Confederate Cause and Conduct of the War," says of the famous "Stonewall Brigade" whose glorious deeds and wonderful achievements in defence of Southern rights sent a thrill of wonder and admiration throughout the world: "I knew every man in it, for I belonged to it for a long time, and I know that I am in proper bounds when I assert that there was not one soldier in thirty who owned, or ever expected to own a slave."

Of the Southern people, described by our abolitionist slanderers and traducers as a community of "Slaveholders," "Slavebreeders" and "Slavedealers," Professor Hart, of Harvard University, in his book "Slavery and Abolition," says that "Out of twelve million five hundred thousand persons in the slaveholding communities in 1860, only about one in thirty-three was a slaveholder."

The historian, Rhodes, in his "History of the United States," records that after three years of bloody war, President Davis said to Lincoln's representatives in conference: "We are not fighting for slavery. We are fighting for independence. Say to Mr. Lincoln for me that I shall, at any time, be pleased to receive proposals for peace on

the basis of our independence. It will be useless to approach me with any other." And on a former occasion he had declared: "All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms."

Away, then, with the preposterous and malicious charge that the South went to war to perpetuate and extend the institution of slavery! Still, the cry went forth from the abolition press, and was accepted as truth by the uninformed masses of the European nations that the chief, if not the only business of Virginia gentlemen was the raising of slaves, like cattle, to be sold to the more Southern markets.

How Virginia loved the Union that she had done more than any other State to create; how she clung to it to the last and labored to preserve it until "the last argument was exhausted" is now so well known to the world that it would be superfluous to revert to it, but for the purpose of putting the facts in condensed and convenient form into the hands of our children and children's children to the end that they may imbibe with the rudiments of their education the great truths of the grand and noble struggle their fathers made to "transmit unshorn" to them the priceless rights of self-government handed down to us and them by their forefathers of the Revolution.

The historian, Rhodes, says: "Virginia, whose share in forming the Union had been greater than that of any other one State, was loath to see that great work shattered, and now made a supreme effort to save it."[1]

[1]History United States, Rhodes, Vol. III, p. 290.

CHAPTER VII.

On the 7th of January, 1861, after South Carolina had seceded, and it was evident all the Cotton States, unless prompt measures were taken to effect a compromise, would soon follow her example, the Legislature of Virginia was called in extra session. In his message to that body Governor Letcher, after plainly and fully setting forth and explaining the dangerous and perplexing problems confronting the State and the country, said: "The condition of our country at this time excites the most serious fears for the perpetuation of the Union. Surely, no people have been blessed as we have been, and it is melancholy to think that all is now about to be sacrificed on the altar of passion. If the judgments of men were consulted, if the admonitions of their consciences were respected, the Union would yet be saved from overthrow."[1] But while giving expression to his deep devotion to the Union, he did not fail to declare in unmistakable terms his belief in the right of secession. He reviewed fully and dispassionately the persistent action of the abolition element of the North, which, for two generations, had been uncompromising and unceasing in their assaults on the Constitutional rights of the South upon questions relating to slavery and State Government. He discouraged the plan of calling a State Convention, and proposed instead that Commissioners be sent to the Legislatures of the several Northern

[1]Journal of Virginia House of Delegates, 1861.

States that had enacted laws repugnant to the rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, and to request and urge their repeal, and that similar messengers be, also, dispatched to the Legislatures of the slaveholding States to inquire and ascertain the exact character and requirements of the demands and guarantees they deemed necessary to protect their rights and interests under the Constitution. Following the spirit, but modifying the plan proposed by the Governor, the General Assembly adopted resolutions inviting all such States of the Union "as are willing to unite with Virginia in an earnest effort to adjust the present unhappy controversies to appoint commissioners to meet on the Fourth day of February, 1861, in the City of Washington, similar Commissioners appointed by Virginia."[1] The same resolutions also provided for the appointment of a Commissioner to the President of the United States, and another Commissioner to South Carolina, and such other States as may have seceded in the meantime, to urge and entreat them to abstain from any further action such as might produce a conflict of arms between the seceding States and the Government of the United States pending the action of the proposed Peace Commissioners.

The preamble to the resolutions providing for the Peace Conference declared that: "Whereas, it is the deliberate opinion of the General Assembly of Virginia that, unless the unhappy controversy that now divides the States of this Confederacy shall be satisfactorily adjusted, a perma-

[1]Journal of House of Delegates, Extra Session 1861.

nent dissolution of the Union is inevitable, and the General Assembly is desirous of employing every reasonable means to avert so dire a calamity."[1]

But, echoing the sentiment expressed in the Governor's message, both Houses of the General Assembly, with practical unanimity, adopted resolutions declaring that the Government of a Union formed by the consent of all the States had no right to make war upon any of its members, and with regard to the States which had already seceded, or might secede, "We are unalterably opposed to any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to coerce the same into reunion or submission, and that we will resist the same by all means in our power."

Twenty States responded to Virginia's call and sent representatives to the Peace Conference which met in Washington on February 4, 1861. Rhodes says in the third volume of his History of the United States: "The historical significance of the Peace Convention consists in the evidence it affords of the attachment of the Border Slave States to the Union." The spirit of love and veneration for the Government established by our ancestors, and our deep yearning for the restoration of peace and amicable relations between the sections were beautifully and feelingly expressed in the utterances and declarations and appeals made by Virginia's representatives. Ex-President John Tyler, who was chosen to preside over the deliberations of the Conference, said in his address on assuming the chair: "The voice of Virginia

[1]Journal House of Delegates, Extra Session 1861.

has invited her co-states to meet her in counsel. In the initiation of this Government that same voice was heard and complied with, and the resulting seventy-odd years have fully attested the wisdom of the decision then adopted. Our god-like fathers created! We have to preserve. They built up through their wisdom and patriotism monuments which have eternized their names. You have before you, gentlemen, a task equally grand, equally sublime, and quite as full of glory and immortality; you have to snatch from ruin a grand and glorious Confederation, to preserve the Government and to renew and invigorate the Constitution."[1] Hon. William C. Rives, ex-United States Senator and once Minister to France, said: "Mr. President, something must be done to save the country, to relieve these apprehensions, and to restore a broken confidence. Virginia steps in to arrest the country in its progress to ruin. Sir, I have had some experience in revolutions in another hemisphere, in revolutions produced by the same causes that are now operating among us. I have seen the pavements of Paris covered and the gutters running with fraternal blood. God forbid I should see this horrid picture repeated in my own country—and yet it will be, Sir, if we listen to the counsel urged here."[2]

Mr. George W. Summers, another of Virginia's representative sons, commenced his speech with an emotion too deep for utterance: "Mr. President, my heart is full! I cannot approach the

[1]Journal of Peace Convention, p. 14.
[2]Journal of Peace Convention, p. 135.

great issues with which we are dealing with becoming coolness and deliberation! Sir! I love this Union. The man does not live who entertains a higher respect for this Government than I do. I know its history—I know how it was established. There is not an incident in its history that is not precious to me. I do not wish to survive its dissolution."[1]

But all was unavailing. The destructive element in all the Northern States which sent delegates to the Conference had seen to it that none should be sent but those who were pledged to carry out the predetermined plan of the fanatical war party; or if any patriotic and reasonable men were sent, as some undoubtedly were, they should be in such a minority as to be easily voted down, overruled and ignored. And thus all reason, every argument and every pathetic appeal for peace and reconciliation were met by cold disdain, sneering rebuff or positive insult. A single incident will suffice to show the spirit in which all of Virginia's advances and overtures for peace and amity were met. Senator Chandler, of Michigan, familiarly referred to as "Old Zack Chandler," and who during the years of blood and horror that followed, succeeded by the darker days of Reconstruction, became known to fame, or infamy as "The Great Michigander," wrote to the Governor of his State: "Dear Governor, Bingham and myself telegraphed you on Saturday, at the request of Massachusetts and New York, to send delegates to the Peace or Compromise Congress. They admit now that we

[1]Journal of Peace Convention, p. 15.

were right and they were wrong; that no Republican State should have sent delegates; but they are here now and cannot get away. The whole thing was gotten up against my judgment and advice, and will end in thin smoke. Some of the manufacturing States think that a fight would be awful. Without a little bloodletting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a curse."[1]

And that was the spirit that dominated the ruling faction of the Northern people, and drove the conservative element before it with a whip of scorpions. The Black Republican party was fully bent and determined on war, and nothing but war and "bloodletting" would satisfy it.

Thus the deliberations of the Peace Conference came to naught, and the great and vital objects for which the people of Virginia had called their countrymen to counsel were met and checkmated, and doomed to go down in history as unachieved and overthrown by a wild and reckless spirit of unreasoning fanaticism.

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[1]Journal of Peace Convention, 1861, p. 461; Logic of History, p. 138.

CHAPTER VIII.

The General Assembly of Virginia, which proposed and brought about the Peace Conference, also adopted a resolution providing for the calling of a State Convention to consider and take suitable action on the great problems of the hour, and the dangers that menaced and threatened the peace and the very existence of the State and the Union. This body became known in history as "The Secession Convention," a misnomer, as is shown by the fact that it was called as a last resort to find honorable means, if possible, to avoid secession.

So careful were the movers and promoters of the call to guard against the danger and possibility of an irresponsible body of men clothed with untrammeled power carrying the State out of the Union under the promptings of the wild excitement and passion that were sweeping over the country and shaking the Government from its foundations, that it was provided in the act that the people of Virginia, in selecting delegates to the Convention, should declare, by a separate vote, whether or not the action of that body should be referred back to the people for ratification or rejection, thus jealously reserving to the people the right and power to go to the polls and calmly decide whether or not the State should withdraw from the Union.

It was a moment pregnant with the most momentous and farreaching consequences to the State and the country at large. Seven States had al-

ready seceded, and the remaining seven of the Southern group, with anxious eyes fixed on Virginia, were waiting to see what action would be taken by the old Mother of States and Statesmen, hoping thereby to shape their own for the ultimate good of all. Had Virginia at that moment taken the final step and seceded she would undoubtedly have been followed in quick succession by North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland, as was done by the first three named when she did finally withdraw.

The commanding and determining influence of Virginia in the great questions of the hour was as well recognized and understood in the North as elsewhere. William H. Seward wrote from Washington: "The election in Virginia tomorrow probably determines whether all the Slave States will take the attitude of disunion. Everybody around me thinks that that will make the separation irretrievable and involve us in a flagrant Civil War."[1]

Charles Francis Adams has described the intense interest centered on the Virginia election thus: "I well remember that day—gray, overcast, wintry—which succeeded the Virginia election. Then living in Boston, a young man of twenty-five, I shared—as who did not—in the common deep depression and intense anxiety. Virginia speaking against secession had emitted no uncertain sound. It was as if a weight had been taken off the mind of every one."[2]

[1]Lee at Appomattox, C. F. Adams, p. 403.
[2]Lee at Appomattox, Chas. F. Adams, p. 402.

The election for delegates to the Convention was held on February 4, 1861. Never before had the people of Virginia—the undivided, unpartitioned Old Dominion, before the hand of the destroyer had been laid upon her fair domain with an atrocity as black as that laid upon dismembered Poland, —never before had her people been summoned to an election so fraught with such fateful importance to the State and the Union. Stirred by the fervor of the campaign and the magnitude of the issues at stake, around the polls that day "the grower of wheat from the banks of the Potomac met the planter of tobacco from the distant Roanoke, and the tiller of corn who greets the first beams of the morning sun from the golden waves of the broad Atlantic, hailed his brother who catches his last parting ray as reflected from the glassy bosom of the beautiful Ohio."

A quiet, law-abiding, agricultural people, deeply devoted to their State and the Union, and pleading only for peace!

The State was divided into a hundred and fifty-two election districts. The candidates presenting themselves for the suffrages of the people were ranged in three classes—unconditional Secessionists, unconditional Union Men and Compromise men, that is, men opposed to secession and in favor of the Union provided the Federal authorities did not resort to armed coercion to bring back the States already seceded.

The returns from the polls showed that of the delegates elected to the Convention the men of the second and third classes were in an overwhelming

majority. On the question of submitting the work of the Convention to the people for ratification or rejection the vote stood 100,536 for submission and 45,161 against it, thus declaring to the world that "on the issues as then made up" Virginia refused to secede. Charles Francis Adams, in his book "Lee at Appomattox," says: "Thus be it always remembered, Virginia did not take her place in the Secession movement because of the election of an antislavery President. She did not raise her hand against the National Government from mere love of any peculiar institution, or a wish to protect or perpetuate it. The ground of her final action was of wholly another nature, and of a nature far more creditable."[1]

The Convention met in the Hall of the House of Delegates on February 13, 1861. The venerable John Janney, a Union man, was chosen to preside over its deliberations. His election was secured by the harmonious action of the different shades of Union sentiment and feeling which dominated the body. On taking the chair the President said: "It is now seventy-three years since a Convention of the people of Virginia were assembled in this Hall to ratify the Constitution of the United States, one of the chief objects of which was to consolidate—not the Government,—but the Union of the States. Causes which have passed and are daily passing into history which will set its seal upon them, have brought the Constitution and the Union into imminent peril, and Virginia has come to the rescue. It is what the whole

[1]Lee at Appomattox, p. 403.

country expected of her. Gentlemen, there is a flag which, for nearly a century, has been borne in triumph through the battle and the breeze, and now floats over this Capitol, on which there is a star representing this ancient Commonwealth, and my earnest prayer, in which I know every member of this body will unite, is that it may remain there forever, provided, always, that its lustre is untarnished."[1]

Thus was sounded the keynote of the patriotic spirit with which Virginia approached and attempted to solve, for the good of all, the momentous problems that confronted her and the country; and from that day until the 17th of April the opposing forces of Secession and Union faced each other in ardent and earnest debate.

It at once became apparent that the strongest, if not the controlling, force in shaping the final action of the Convention would be the policy adopted by the newly elected Federal Administration towards the already seceded States. Virginia, in the recent election, had spoken with no uncertain voice against secession; but six Gulf States, with South Carolina at their head, had already seceded and organized a Confederacy with its Government established at Montgomery; and Virginia would never consent to, or aid in, the unrighteous and unconstitutional attempt to subjugate and coerce these States by force of arms. Thus it became a question, not of slavery, nor of the wisdom of secession, but of the right and power of the Federal Government under the Con-

[1]Journal of the Convention, 1861, p. 8.

stitution to coerce a sovereign State which had merely exercised her undeniable and, until now, unquestioned right to resume the powers by her voluntarily delegated to that Government.

President Buchanan had submitted to Congress the question of dealing with the seceding States, but Congress had taken no action nor expressed officially any purpose or plan of doing so.

Thus all eyes were turned upon the incoming President, who, as we have already seen, was elected on a platform inspired by that "Abolitionism in the North, which, trained in the school of Garrison and Phillips, and affecting to regard the Constitution as 'A league with Hell and a covenant with Death' had, with steady and untiring hate, sought a disruption of the Union as the best and surest means for the accomplishment of the abolition of slavery in the Southern States."[1]

The country stood with bated breath, and the supreme question of the hour was what policy will he adopt, what line of action will he follow with regard to the seceded States: Stephen A. Douglas, the defeated candidate of the Northern wing of the Democratic party, writing of the Republican conspirators, the leaders of the Lincoln party, said in a letter dated February 2, 1861: "They are bold, determined men. They are striving to break up the Union under the pretense of preserving it. They are struggling to overthrow the Constitution, while professing undying attachment to it and a willingness to make any sacrifice to maintain it. They are trying to plunge the country

[1]Speech of Geo. W. Brent in the Virginia Convention, Mar. 8, 1861.

into a cruel war as the surest means of destroying the Union upon the plea of enforcing the laws and protecting public property."

Such monumental duplicity and hypocrisy could not be better exemplified than in the blatant utterances and subsequent actions of the abolition shriekers who had not then been initiated into the underground workings of the real Republican leaders and conspirators with William H. Seward at their head.

After Lincoln was elected and the Gulf States were threatening to follow South Carolina in withdrawing from the Union, Wendell Phillips, the great High Priest of New England disunionism, denouncing Lincoln as "a huckster in politics," and "a slavehound from Illinois" and, condemning the war he proposed to wage against the seceding States, said: "Here are a series of States girding the Gulf which think they should have an independent government; they have a right to decide that question without appealing to you or to me. Standing with the principles of '76 behind us, who can deny them that right? Abraham Lincoln has no right to a soldier in Fort Sumter." And after those States seceded, he cried frantically in another speech: "I have labored for nineteen years to dissolve the Union, and now success has come at last. Let the South go! Let her go with flags flying and trumpets blowing! Give her her forts, her arsenals and her sub-treasuries! Speed the parting guest! All hail disunion! Beautiful on the mountains are the feet of them who bring the glad tidings of disunion."[1]

[1]Speeches, Lectures and Letters, Wendell Phillips.

And yet, after Lincoln and Seward had "let slip the dogs of war" this same Phillips, and his followers were loudest and bitterest in hurling at the South the epithets of "Rebel" and "Traitor."

No man who saw as did the writer, though a boy, the birth of the Republican party; and no man or woman who has watched its workings and followed its history can doubt for a moment that. from the day of its organization in 1854 to the hour Fort Sumter was fired on, Republicans had striven might and main to dissolve the Union. Not a man in the party, as at first organized, respected the Flag. Both the Flag and the Union were scorned and hated by the Republicans of the antebellum regime. The New York Tribune, an acknowledged organ of the Black Republican party, habitually adorned its columns with such irreverent and disgusting doggerel as this:

"Tear down the flaunting lie,
Half-mast the starry flag,
Insult no sunny, sky
With hate's polluted rag."

For what purpose, and by what means these original Union haters and Flag insulters were led to turn a complete summersault and launch against the retiring South all the avalanche of long-standing hate and venom they had formerly heaped upon the Union and the Flag will be revealed by an examination of their own party records and correspondence.

After leaving his family in Philadelphia and in disguise entering Washington in the night, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1861. His inaugural address, which was eagerly waited for in the hope that it would reveal the policy of the incoming Administration, and thus relieve the strain of uncertainty and suspense under which the country labored, and set at rest the fears of the South awakened by the bitterness and violence of the Presidential campaign, was couched in such ambiguous language and expressed in terms of such studied and artful evasion that the public mind was left in as great a state of uncertainty and perplexity as before.

On the one hand, in what appeared to be plain and unmistakable language, he gave assurance that the Federal Government would respect the rights of States and individuals in regard to slavery, and that no interest or section would be disturbed in any Constitutional right; while on the other hand, his utterances and outgivings on the great question of his policy in regard to the coercion of the seceded States were so evasive and uncertain as to be plainly susceptible of different and opposite constructions.

In this atmosphere of uncertainty and suspense the Virginia Convention continued for nearly six weeks to wrestle with the opposing questions of Union and secession. Meanwhile, the Government at Washington had done nothing, and it was a fact fully recognized and understood that the President was as a lump of potter's clay in the hands of

the shrewd and able conspirators by whom he was surrounded.

The great body of the Northern people, as all the records plainly show, were averse and opposed to making war on the South on the question of slavery. A new issue, then, must be found or invented on which the country could be dragged into a bloody and destructive war. Nearly a month had passed and not a step had been taken in that direction. But tremendous and bloody schemes were brooding in the brain of William H. Seward, who, as Secretary of State, was recognized as the moving spirit and brains of the Administration.

About the first of April, to spur Lincoln into action, Seward wrote a carefully prepared paper entitled "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration." In this paper Seward said: "We are at the end of a month's administration and yet without a policy. This, however, is not culpable, it has been unavoidable. But further delay to adopt and prosecute our policy, for both domestic and foreign affairs, would not only bring scandal on the Administration, but danger on the country. For the policy at home, my system is built on this idea as a ruling one: That we must change the question before the public from one upon slavery, or about slavery, to a question of Union or Dis-Union. In other words, from what would be regarded as a party question to one of Patriotism or Union. The occupation and evacuation of Fort Sumter, although not in fact a slavery or party question, is so regarded. Witness the temper manifested by the Republicans of the Northern

States and the Union men of the South. For the rest, I would simultaneously defend and reinforce all the forts in the Gulf and have the Navy recalled from foreign stations to be prepared for a blockade. Put the island of Key West under Martial Law. I would maintain every fort and Federal possession in the South. This will raise distinctly the question of Union or Disunion."[1] This letter was intended for Lincoln's eye only, and was never laid before the Cabinet as far as the records show. Lincoln kept the matter to himself, but followed the shrewd and cunning advice given, to drop his party's darling issue of slavery and, in its place, raise the cry of "Save the Union." Both Lincoln and Seward were creatures of the Republican party, put in office by Black Republican votes, and yet, at the very outset of their official career, they spurned their party's most cherished issue, slavery, and put in its place the Union and the Flag, both of which their party had always despised and hated and denounced and abused from a thousand rostrums.

Soon after the organization of the Virginia Convention a Committee on Federal Relations consisting of twenty-one members was appointed, to which should be referred without debate all memorial proposals relating to the secession of the State. On the 16th of March the report of that Committee was taken up for consideration by the Convention. The majority report, signed by two-thirds of the members, described and deplored the "present distracted condition of the country" and

[1]History of the Great Civil War, Facts and Falsehoods, pp. 154-5.

earnestly prayed that "An adjustment may be reached by which the Union may be preserved in its integrity; and peace, prosperity and fraternal feeling be restored throughout the land." Another section declared that: "The people of Virginia recognize the American principle that government is founded on the consent of the governed, and they will never consent that the Federal power, which is in part their power, shall be exerted for the purpose of subjugating the people of the seceded States to the Federal authority."[1]

The minority report provided for the immediate secession of Virginia. This was defeated by a recorded vote of forty-five "yeas" to eighty-nine "nays." The majority section was adopted by a vote of one hundred and four "yeas" to thirty-one "nays."

Thus, while Virginia, through her duly elected representatives in Convention assembled, was determined to cling to the Union with an undying devotion as long as that could be done with honor to herself and justice to the South, yet she, and the country at large, were left utterly in doubt and perplexity by the inaction of the Federal Administration and the ambiguous language and veiled expressions of the President's inaugural address. This general state of uncertainty was expressed by ex-President Buchanan in a letter dated March 16, 1861, in which he said: "Every day affords proof of the absence of any settled policy or harmonious concert of action in the administration. Seward, Bates and Cameron form

[1]Journal of Virginia Convention, 1861, pp. 31-43.

one wing; Chase, Wells, Blair the opposite wing; Smith is on both sides, and Lincoln sometimes on one, sometimes on the other. There has been agreement in nothing.[1]

In this aspect of the situation the Virginia Convention determined to send Commissioners to Washington for the purpose of ascertaining at first hand what action, if any, President Lincoln intended to take in regard to the seceded States and to that end the following resolution was adopted on the 8th of April: "Whereas in the opinion of this Convention the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue towards the seceded States is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace, therefore,

"Resolved, That a committee of three delegates be appointed by this Convention to wait upon the President of the United States, and present to him this Preamble and Resolutions and respectfully ask him to communicate to this Convention the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States."[2]

The double dealing, duplicity and deceit wilfully and persistently practiced by Lincoln and Seward in their pretended negotiations with this Committee and, also, with the Commissioners sent by the

[1]Life of James Buchanan, Vol. II, p. 34.
[2]Journal of Virginia Convention, p. 143.

Confederate Government to negotiate a peaceable settlement of all matters connected with the Forts and other United States property situated within the seceded States, will go down in history as a blot on the diplomacy of a government claiming to be civilized and enlightened.

The Committee appointed by the Virginia Convention consisted of William B. Preston, A. H. H. Stuart and George W. Randolph. The results of that commission are detailed by Mr. Stuart in the first volume of Southern Historical Society papers. On page 452 he says: "I remember that Lincoln used this homely expression: 'If I recognize the Southern Confederacy what will become of my revenue? I might as well shut up housekeeping at once.'" Still, Mr. Stuart, assures the world that "his declarations were distinctly pacific, and he expressly disclaimed all purpose of war."

Secretary of State Seward and Attorney General Bates, in all their meetings and discussions with the Virginia Committee, were equally outspoken and apparently sincere in their assurances of peace and the amicable views and intentions of the Administration. At the same moment Lincoln's proclamation calling for an army of seventy-five thousand men to subjugate and coerce the Southern States had been written, and was already in print; and the same train that brought the Committee back to Richmond elated with the thought of reporting to the Convention the cordial expressions and pacific intentions, as they thought, of the Federal Executive, also brought Lincoln's proclamation, calling on the Governor of Virginia

to furnish her quota of the army intended to overthrow and destroy the last vestige of the Constitutional rights of the States.

Mr. Stuart continues: "This proclamation was carefully withheld from us and we knew nothing of it until Monday morning when it appeared in the Richmond papers. When I saw it at breakfast I thought it was a mischievous hoax, for I could not believe Lincoln guilty of such duplicity."[1]

And the same course of deception and chicanery was followed by Lincoln and his advisers in their dealings with the Commissioners which, as before noted, were sent to Washington by the Confederate Government, as soon as that Government was organized, to bring about an amicable and "speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of the political separation upon such terms as the respective interests, geographical contiguity and future welfare of the two nations may render necessary."

President Lincoln, while refusing to recognize the Confederacy by treating with those Commissioners as the representatives of an independent government, nevertheless, entered into semi-official negotiations with them upon the questions at issue. During these pretended "negotiations" the Confederate Commissioners were kept in Washington week after week, deceived by verbal promises and misleading hopes of securing in the end a peaceable and satisfactory adjustment and settlement of all the complicated interests and

[1]Southern Historical Society's Papers, p. 452.

claims arising out of the separation of the sections. The Commissioners were blandly exhorted to be patient and trustful, and were distinctly promised by Lincoln and Seward, through Judge Campbell, of the Supreme Court of the United States, that no attempt would be made to provision or reinforce Fort Sumter, and that the garrison should be withdrawn and the Fort evacuated as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made; the Commissioners, on their part, agreeing that, while such arrangements were in progress, the soldiers of the garrison should have access to the markets of Charleston to secure necessary provisions.

And during all this time Lincoln and Seward were secretly planning, organizing, arming and provisioning one of the most stupendous war fleets ever assembled in American waters to make a sudden descent on Sumter and, thus, inaugurate the most destructive and devastating war of modern times. This deception was kept up almost to the last moment, and as the mock negotiations dragged on from day to day and no move was made towards the promised evacuation of Fort Sumter, uneasiness began to be felt by the Commissioners and the Government for which they were acting, and Judge Campbell read to Mr. Seward a letter which he had written to President Davis setting forth in detail the agreement entered into by Lincoln and the Southern Commissioners. Seward, pointing to the letter in Judge Campbell's hand, said: "Before that letter reaches its destination Fort Sumter will be evacuated."

At that very moment his gigantic preparations to reinforce Sumter were nearing completion!

Still, the days dragged on and grew into weeks and the Fort was not evacuated. Finally, Judge Campbell, urged by the Commissioners who were losing all faith in such promises, and all patience with such dilatory performances, wrote Seward a letter of inquiry and remonstrance. The wiley and unscrupulous Secretary telegraphed his answer in a single laconic sentence: "Faith as to Sumter fully kept—wait and see."

Six days after that astounding assurance was sent the great "Relief Squadron, with eleven ships carrying two hundred and eighty-five guns and two thousand four hundred men, was sent out from New York and Norfolk with orders from the authorities at Washington to reinforce Fort Sumter, peacefully, if permitted, but forcibly if they resist."[1]

It is amply proven by unquestioned public records and published "Speeches, Letters and State Papers,"[2] that five of the seven members of Lincoln's Cabinet were opposed to the expedition to reinforce Fort Sumter, and advised against it. Even William H. Seward, the closest, ablest and most unscrupulous of his advisers, declared in a letter addressed to the President that, by the attempt, "We will have inaugurated a civil war by our own act without adequate object, after which reunion will be hopeless, at least, under this Administration, or in any other way than by a pop-

[1]The War Between the States, Alex Stephens.
[2]Life of Lincoln, Nicolay & Hay, Vol. II.

ular disavowal, both of the war and of the Administration which unnecessarily commenced it." Thus did this wiley conspirator conceal, not only from his colleagues in the Cabinet, but, as it seems, from the President himself, his real object in fitting out the great expedition, which object will appear later.

But Lincoln had fully determined on war and nothing could swerve or dissuade him from his purpose. After it was learned that the great Relief Squadron had actually sailed from New York and Norfolk, and was under way for Charleston, General Beauregard, in order to prevent Fort Sumter being reinforced and provisioned, opened fire upon it on the morning of the 12th of April, 1861. The fire was returned by the fort and the cannonade was kept up through the day. At night the firing from the fort ceased, but was continued by General Beauregard through the night. On the following morning the fort resumed its cannonade, but soon it appeared that the works and buildings were on fire, caused by the hot shot and shell thrown into it by the Confederates. Major Anderson, in command, ran up a signal of distress, and General Beauregard immediately sent a boat offering to assist in putting out the fire, but before it reached the fort Major Anderson displayed a flag of truce.

And that is the whole story of the famous bombardment of Fort Sumter. Not a single man was killed on either side during the engagement. After the surrender of the fort, General Beauregard permitted Major Anderson to salute the

United States flag with fifty guns and, in doing this, two of his guns burst and killed four men. It is an astonishing fact—so regarded at the time —that the Relief Squadron was in full view of the harbor long before the action terminated, and could easily have prevented the capitulation, yet not a gun was fired, or a movement made to support or relieve Major Anderson and his small garrison. The real object of the expedition had been accomplished. The South had been driven and forced, in self defence, to "fire on the flag" and that act was instantly seized upon by the abolition party, and adopted as the grand slogan with which to "fire the Northern heart."

We have seen how, in a letter intended only for the President's eye, Seward had advised and impressed on Lincoln the necessity that "We must change the question before the public from one about slavery to a question of Union," and the Flag. It was the only issue on which they could stir the masses of the North and West to rush headlong into a destructive and unprovoked war upon the South. And we now see how successfully and perfectly that arch conspirator had worked out his diabolical scheme to force the South to strike a blow in defence of her rights at Charleston.

The news of the attack on Sumter was received with demonstrations of delight by the whole Abolition element of New England, and instantly went up the cry of "The Union" and "The Flag." Then began the work of "Working up the Northern mind" and "Firing the Northern heart." By con-

cert of action the cry was shrieked and shouted everywhere throughout the North "The Flag has been insulted," and "The Union is destroyed" and the very people who, for years beyond the memory of many then living, had labored to destroy the Union as "a mistake," "a crime" and "a league with Hell," and denounced the flag as "a flaunting lie" and "a polluted rag," were loudest in thundering the new-found slogan: "Save the Union and Protect the Flag."

CHAPTER IX.

The action of Virginia was prompt and decisive. "The time had come when she must either level her guns on her Southern sisters or make her breast their shield." In reply to the demand for Virginia's quota of the seventy-five thousand men called for in the President's proclamation, Governor Letcher said: "I have only to say that the militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose, as they have in view. Your object is to subjugate the Southern States, and the requisition made upon me for such an object—in my judgment not within the purview of the Constitution or the Act of 1795—will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate Civil War; and having done so we will meet you in a spirit as determined as the Administration has exhibited towards the South."[1] Similar answers were returned by the Governors of North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas and Missouri, all of which States, as before said, were watching and waiting for, and were largely influenced by, the action of Virginia. Governor Ellis, of North Carolina, though opposed to secession as Letcher of Virginia originally was, telegraphed to Washington: "I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of this country, and especially to this war which is being waged upon a free and independent people."

[1]Greeley's American Conflict, Vol. III, p. 86.

Governor McGoffin, of Kentucky, wrote Lincoln that Kentucky would "furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of making war upon the States."

Governor Jackson of Missouri replied: "Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary, and its objects inhuman and diabolical."

On April 17th the Virginia Convention, by a vote of eighty-eight "ayes" to fifty-five "noes," adopted an Ordinance of Secession, to be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection at a special election to be held on the 23rd of May. At that election the Ordinance of Secession was confirmed by a popular vote of 128,884 for, against 32,134 opposed.

In the closing hours of the Convention "strong men spoke for or against secession with sorrowful hearts and voices trembling with emotion."[1] The late Mr. B. M. Munford in his admirable book, "Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession," says, "The action of the Convention was the logical and inevitable result of the President's proclamation. There had never been any doubt as to Virginia's position. With all her loyalty to the Union, she had repeatedly declared in the most authoritative manner her opposition to the coercion of the Cotton States and her determination to resist such a policy."[2]

The English historian, Henderson, says: "So far Virginia had given no overt sign of sympathy with the Revolution. But she was now called upon

[1]Rhodes History United States, Vol. III, p. 386.
[2]Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession, pp. 282.

to furnish her quota of regiments for the Federal Army. To have acceded to the demand would have been to abjure the most cherished principles of her political existence. Neutrality was impossible. She was bound to furnish her tale of troops and thus belie her principles, or secede at once and reject, with a clean conscience, the President's mandate. If the morality of secession may be questioned, if South Carolina acted with undue haste and without sufficient provocation, it can hardly be denied that the action of Virginia was not only fully justified, but beyond suspicion."[1]

In the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States a motion was made to give the Federal Government power to use military force against a non-complying State, but it was unanimously voted down and rejected and no such power was ever given the Federal Government by the Constitution. Lincoln, himself a lawyer, well knew that fact, and he sought an excuse for his unconstitutional action by raising an army to subjugate the South in the old "Act of 1795," referred to by Governor Letcher in his refusal to obey the mandate of the President's call for troops. That act was passed by Congress to enable the Federal Government to assist the State of Pennsylvania in putting down what is known as the "Whiskey Rebellion" which was an insurrection against the authority of the State of Pennsylvania.

President Buchanan defined the import and authority of that old act as follows: "Under the act

[1]Henderson's "Stonewall Jackson."

of 1795, the President is precluded from acting even upon his own personal and absolute knowledge of the existence of such an insurrection. Before he can call forth the militia for its suppression he must be first applied to for this purpose by the appropriate State Authorities in the manner prescribed by the Constitution."[1]

The raising of any army for such a purpose on such a flimsy pretext was not only illegal and unconstitutional but, in the eyes of all enlightened nations, supremely ridiculous.

But in the gleeful language of one of his groveling and obsequious admirers, "Abraham Lincoln kicked the Constitution into the cellar of the Capitol and there it remained innocuous until the war ended."

Compare the high-handed and unauthorized crime of Abraham Lincoln in raising an army of seventy-five thousand men to resist and suppress the lawful acts of the Legislatures and Conventions of the people of sovereign and independent States with his previous opinions and public utterances. According to the Congressional Globe, first session Thirtieth Congress, p. 94, Lincoln said on the floor of the House of Representatives: "Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and to form one that suits them better. This is a most valuable and most sacred right, a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the people

[1]Life of Buchanan.

of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority intermingling or near them who oppose their movements."[2] "The South's secession fulfilled every requirement laid down by Lincoln. The South had the right and she exercised it with dignity and decency. She did not rise up and shake off the Union Government in a turbulent manner, she quietly withdrew,"[1] and only asked to be let alone.

As we have already seen, the whole course of the Lincoln Administration for the first two months of its existence was intended to hoodwink and deceive the South and the conservative people of the North as to its real intentions; and it was only after Lincoln and Seward were ready to strike the first blow that they raised the cry against the South of "Rebel and Traitor."

The monstrous, oft repeated and as oft refuted charge that the South made war upon the United States Government with intent and purpose to destroy the Union and perpetuate slavery is too stale and, withal, too foolish and absurd to merit serious reply or consideration, save for the purpose of keeping constantly before the eyes and minds of our children and children's children throughout succeeding generations the everlasting truths and undeniable facts of the real causes and outrages that forced their fathers and grandfathers, reluctantly and sorrowfully, in pure and patriotic defence of the God-given and inalienable

[1]Facts and Falsehoods, p. 149.
[2]Congressional Globe, Thirtieth Congress, p. 94.

rights bequeathed to them by their Revolutionary ancestors, to submit their cause to the arbitrament of the sword. War on the South was morally begun by the Abolitionists of New England forty years before the first gun was fired; it was fully organized by the formation of the Black Republican Party in 1854; the first gun was fired by John Brown, the creature of that party, at Harper's Ferry in 1859; it was formally opened and declared by the sailing of the great war fleet against Charleston in 1861; and the first gun at Sumter was only the first gun of self-defense.

"South Carolina had ceded the land on which Fort Sumter had been built to the General Government for the protection of the harbor of Charleston, and now that the fort was to be used, not for its original purpose but for the destruction of her beautiful city, the State, having lawfully and rightfully seceded from the Union, had the clear right to demand it back; and the Confederate authorities acted with rare patience and forbearance when they waited so long in the vain hope of getting peaceable possession of their own. But when they received information that a powerful armament was about to enter the harbor to reinforce Fort Sumter and make it impregnable to their assaults they, in opening fire upon the fort, "acted as strictly in self-defence as the man who uses whatever force may be necessary to disarm an assassin about to strike him instead of waiting to receive the fatal blow."[1]

[1]Memorial Volume of Jefferson Davis, p. 308.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

Let us thus keep the undeniable facts and the undying truths of history constantly and always before our children and before the world, breathing the devout and perpetual prayer,

"Lord God of Hosts, defend us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget."

And with those everlasting truths kept constantly before their eyes and instilled from infancy into their minds and hearts, let them be taught fearlessly and proudly to proclaim, always and everywhere, that their fathers need no defense and offer no apology for the course they pursued in the War between the States, steadfast in the eternal right and justice of their cause and assured that—

No purer sword led braver band,
Nor braver bled for a brighter land,
Nor brighter land had a cause so grand
Nor cause a chief like Lee.

This sentiment was fittingly and aptly expressed by an incident at the Academy of Music in Richmond in which the late Hon. A. M. Keiley was the leading figure. Mayor Keiley, as he was familiarly and affectionately known in Richmond, had been appointed by President Cleveland a Judge of the International Court and, in the discharge of

his duties, was resident in Alexandria, Egypt, but was now on a visit to his old home in his native city. In presenting Judge Keiley to an audience of his friends and admirers who had packed the Academy to extend him a fitting welcome, the Chairman, among other compliments, spoke of him as "a Confederate soldier who gallantly fought for what he believed to be right." In commencing his address the distinguished speaker said: "I thank my friend for the many kind things he has said about me, but I must reject and deny one of his intended complimentary assertions. I did *not* fight for what I *believed* to be right; I fought for what I *knew* was right;" and the thundering applause which drowned his further utterance showed how thoroughly in sympathy with the sentiment his audience was.

So let it be proclaimed and maintained in the face of all opposition and dispute that we went to war and fought, as never people did, for a cause we *knew* and still *know* was right and just, and laid down our arms only when "forced to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources."

The sacred and urgent duty that rests upon us to record and treasure up and transmit to our children and, through them to the remotest generations of our posterity, the whole Truth, unbiased and unperverted in its entirety, of the noble fight their fathers made for liberty and Constitutional rights was earnestly set forth by Lieutenant Governor J. Taylor Ellyson in a speech before the United Confederate Veterans during the funeral obsequies of President Jefferson Davis

at New Orleans in 1889. Mr. Ellyson said: "There is no danger that we who fought under the Stars and Bars, shall ever forget the memories of four stormy years or prove false to the generous motives that then animated our lives; but there is danger, and real danger, that our children may be taught that the cause for which we fought was treason and we but traitors. From such a fate may a kind Providence spare us! Then let us see that histories are written which shall contain the true story of Southern patriotism and valor, and which teach our children that the soldiers of the Southern Confederacy were not rebels, but were Americans who loved Constitutional liberty as something dearer than life itself. Let us be certain that our children know that the War between the States was not a contest for the preservation of slavery, as some would have them believe, but that it was a great struggle for the maintenance of Constitutional rights, and that the men who fought—

Were warriors tried and true,
Who bore the Flag of a nation's trust;
And fell in a cause though lost, still just,
And died for me and you."[1]

Nor was the cause for which we fought entirely "lost,"

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again."

Though we failed to establish permanently an independent government, yet, the eternal truth and right and justice of our cause still lives; and that it is steadily gaining ground in the minds and

[1]Memorial Volume of Jefferson Davis, p. 584.

convictions of calm, dispassionate thinkers everywhere is shown by the fact, among many other instances, that one of the most distinguished and forceful writers of Massachusetts said in a recent publication, treating of the Confederacy and its people: "Such character and achievement were not all in vain; though the Confederacy fell as an actual, physical Power, it lives eternally in its just cause—the cause of Constitutional liberty."

And that the devotion and fortitude of our people, the enlightened and liberty-loving principles upon which our Government was founded and its administration conceived and executed, the high plane of civilized and humane warfare on which our campaigns were conducted and the unsurpassed courage and valor with which our battles were fought are fully known and recognized in foreign lands is beautifully exemplified in the following touching incident. Professor Philip Stanley Worsley, of Oxford University, England, sent a copy of his translation of Homer's Iliad to General Robert E. Lee, who was then President of Washington College. On the fly leaf the author addressed General Lee as "The most stainless of living commanders and except in fortune, the greatest," and adds an original poem in which he says:

"Thy Troy is fallen, thy dear land
Is marred beneath the spoiler's heel—
* * * * * *
Ah, realm of tombs! But let her bear
This blazon to the last of times:
No nation rose so white and fair,
Nor fell so pure of crimes."

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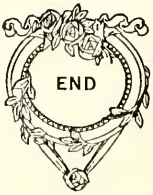

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